



# THE PEOPLE'S MANIFESTO

## THE PEOPLE'S PACT, THE PEOPLE'S HOPE





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Malaysia is a country with immense potential, its people strive for excellence bound by ties of brotherhood and fraternity. The foundation of this nation is built on religious and cultural roots, the people bound together by the national consensus embodied in the Constitution.

However, the power elite hinder our national aspirations. Corruption and greed thrive, while the people continue to live in hardship.

Each Malaysian deserves the best that this nation can offer. A quality education for our children, equal economic opportunities for all and a compassionate and clean government awaits us.

For the sake of the people, let us change and come together to chart the future of a new Malaysia.

# THE PEOPLE'S PACT, THE PEOPLE'S HOPE

Pakatan Rakyat offers justice, peace and equality for all. This commitment will be met by implementing our clean administrative approach together with robust implementation of our policies.

We are a clean and transparent government. Our administration is based on good governance guided by moral principles and universal values. Under our administration, we shall ensure fair and effective distribution of our abundant national wealth, resulting in a marked rise in the quality and standard of living of the people.

A Malaysia administered with trust and competency will result in a prosperous society and a dignified life for all. Our vision of a dignified society is one that is confident about its historical roots and holds steadfast to universal religious principles and values. It is a society that defends the truth and opposes cruelty. It is a society that believes in the principle of fraternity of all mankind, and it strives for constant self improvement. It is one where the strong help the weak and none are left out. It is one where knowledge and culture are highly valued and celebrated. We must have continuous efforts to constantly do good and to stem all evil.

The stellar administrative record of the Pakatan Rakyat state governments is proof of our capacity and ability in building a trustworthy federal government that will enrich all the people.

Pakatan Rakyat puts the aspirations of the people at the centre of its economic policies. Currently, millions of Malaysians in Pakatan-governed states are enjoying a fair share of the national wealth and our states' fiscal strength continues to grow.

Pakatan Rakyat has fostered an exemplary culture of trust in its administration. Corrupt practices are being curbed and the financial gains made through our administration are returned to benefit the people.

Pakatan Rakyat puts the people's interests first. Our policies endeavor to uphold the aspirations of the majority, against the interests of the elite and their cronies.

Pakatan Rakyat respects the people as the ultimate masters of their destiny and our homeland. The people's freedom and voices must be respected. The rights of all, regardless of background, rich or poor, shall be considered. Our aim is to eliminate all unjust laws that infringe the sovereignty of the people.

Pakatan Rakyat is committed to ensure justice, peace and equality for the people.

The People's Manifesto is crafted based on four key pillars – Fraternity of the People, the People's Economy, the People's Well-being and the People's Government.

The People's Manifesto outlines specific policies and programmes to be implemented by a Pakatan Rakyat leadership in Putrajaya. The People's Manifesto outlines a brighter future, full of hope and aspirations of the people. This People's Manifesto is the outcome of our engagement with the people from every level of society.

We believe that Malaysia deserve a better future. We are confident that Malaysians will advance further under our administration. We truly believe that Malaysians deserve the very best government.

**DATO' SERI  
ANWAR IBRAHIM**  
KETUA UMUM,  
PARTI Keadilan Rakyat

**DATO' SERI  
ABDUL HADI AWANG**  
PRESIDENT,  
PARTI ISLAM SE-MALAYSIA

**SAUDARA  
LIM KIT SIANG**  
PARLIAMENTARY LEADER,  
DEMOCRATIC ACTION PARTY

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# THE FRATERNITY OF THE PEOPLE

1. Eliminating discrimination
2. Recognizing the contribution of women and senior citizens
3. Developing the national education system and affirming all educational streams
4. Respecting the position of Sabah and Sarawak within the Federation
5. Preserving Orang Asli customary land rights and welfare
6. Respecting the position of Islam as the official religion, guaranteeing the freedom of religion
7. Promoting culture as the foundation of community living

# THE FRATERNITY OF THE PEOPLE

Malaysia is built on the foundation of fraternity among its diverse population, striving together in the process of nation-building. Our wealth should be equitably distributed in order to help the poor and defend the weak. The education system must be based on the spirit of fraternity and to produce individuals who are knowledgeable, capable, practical, socially conscious and respectful of each other.

Malaysian women have long contributed to nation-building. In the new millennium, women represent an essential economic pillar in society, juggling family duties with strong economic contributions.

A prosperous Malaysia is one bound by strong ties of fraternity among the people.

Pakatan Rakyat has lined up the following promises to build upon the existing fraternity of the people.

## ELIMINATE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND THE INCITEMENT OF ANTAGONISM BETWEEN COMMUNITY GROUPS TO ENSURE THE PEOPLE'S UNITY AND HARMONY

## RECOGNIZING THE CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN

### WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT AND LEADERSHIP IN SOCIETY

Our women's empowerment policy aims to meet a target of 30% participation of women in managerial, leadership and administration of both public and private sectors by 2017. The Malaysian Women's Agenda shall be fully implemented to further enhance the position of women in society.

### MALAYSIAN WOMEN CONTRIBUTION FUND

Every wife shall be entitled to the Malaysian Women's Contribution Fund, a social safety net programme to protect their welfare.

Husbands will be legally obliged to provide towards a contribution fund, proportionate to their income (between RM10 per month to RM100 per month). The contribution sum may be withdrawn by wives under certain circumstances such as divorce, natural disasters, accidents and upon reaching the age of 50 years old.

The Government will also contribute RM50 per month for wives and the contributions will be managed by the Social Security Organisation (SOCSO).

## HELPING SENIOR CITIZENS

The rising cost of living is diminishing the economic purchasing power of senior citizens. Hardship during old age is a nightmare for many senior Malaysians.

Pakatan Rakyat will expand the Senior Citizens' Bonus Scheme which has been implemented in Penang, to the national level. Each senior citizen aged 60 and above will receive a bonus worth RM1, 000 each year to help ease their financial burdens.

## UPHOLD THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE, ENSURE THE RIGHTS OF MOTHER-TONGUE LANGUAGES AND IMPROVE THE COMMAND OF ENGLISH IN A NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEM THAT GUARANTEES FREE EDUCATION FOR ALL MALAYSIANS.

## RECOGNIZING THE ROLE OF SEKOLAH JANAAN RAKYAT AND ALLOCATING RESOURCES COMMENSURATE WITH THE CONTRIBUTION OF THESE SCHOOLS

Pakatan Rakyat values the contributions of the people's religious schools, national-type Chinese and Tamil schools (SJK), private Chinese, Tamil, Iban, Kadazan schools and mission schools, that have all furthered the development of the national education system.

**1,854**  
SEKOLAH  
JANAAN RAKYAT

1,854 Sekolah Janaan Rakyat across the country will receive additional assistance (besides the existing contribution towards the operating costs) according to the number of pupils, at RM300 per student each year, involving an allocation of RM220 million.

This additional assistance is an investment by Pakatan Rakyat to improve the quality of education in these schools, which includes costs of building expansions as well as improving the infrastructure and facilities.

**UEC**

Pakatan Rakyat will recognize the Unified Examination Certificate (Combined Chinese Secondary Schools) or UEC for the purpose of furthering academic admission to higher education institutions and also as academic qualifications for jobs.

## RESPECTING THE POSITION OF SABAH AND SARAWAK IN THE FEDERATION

Pakatan Rakyat reiterates the commitment to defend the rights of Sabah and Sarawak within the framework of the Federal Constitution outlined in the Kuching Declaration, as follows:

### Federal cooperation

Preserving the essence of the Malaysia Agreement and strengthening the position of Sabah and Sarawak on par with Peninsular Malaysia by restoring the autonomy of Sabah and Sarawak in accordance to the provisions of the Federal Constitution

### Fair Representation

Enhancing national integration between Sabah, Sarawak and Peninsular Malaysia by combining our strengths and ensuring equitable power-sharing in the spirit of the Malaysia Agreement

### Citizenship

Cleaning up the citizenship registry list and electoral roll across the country, especially in Sabah and Sarawak, by recognizing the rights of residents who are adequately qualified to receive citizenship and to curb the granting of false identity cards/citizenships based upon undue narrow political motivations

### Recognition of Customary Land Rights

Respecting and recognizing native customary land rights in accordance with the state laws of Sabah and Sarawak by setting up a Land Commission to investigate, resolve disputes, rejuvenate, study and restore Native Customary Rights to the rightful owners of such customary lands

### Competence and capability of Sabah and Sarawak

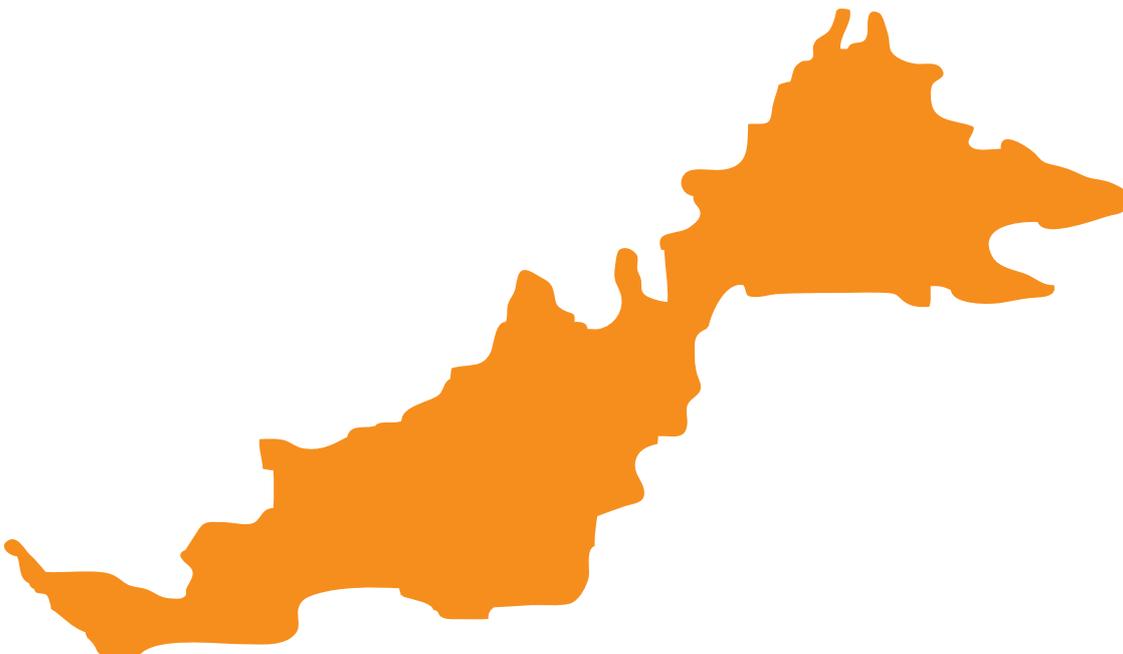
Affirm the appointment of Sabahans and Sarawakians to lead and hold office in the Government departments of their respective states, to be enforced by the State Secretaries of both states and to give priority to the people of Sabah and Sarawak at the Federal Government level to carry out duties in their respective states

### Justice in the oil issue

Raising royalty payments for petroleum and hydrocarbon resources of Sabah and Sarawak from 5% to 20%

### Unified Development

Raising the level of infrastructure development in Sabah and Sarawak to be on par with the developments in Peninsular Malaysia



Therefore, the following programmes will be implemented immediately to fulfill the commitments of the Kuching Declaration to the people of Sabah and Sarawak:

- Eliminating the cabotage system that increases the price of household goods in Sabah and Sarawak and burdens the people
- Creating investment incentives conditional upon the creation of job opportunities in Sabah and Sarawak for the purpose of ensuring equitable economic development
- Establishing two tier-2 oil companies owned by the Governments of Sabah and Sarawak that will join the country's oil and gas industry as an investment for the future and to create employment opportunities for the people of Sabah and Sarawak
- Initiating the construction of highways across Sabah and Sarawak which will connect Kuching to Kota Kinabalu and Kudat
- Halt the construction of dams that destroy the environment and displace the local population from their homes

## PRESERVING ORANG ASLI CUSTOMARY LAND RIGHTS AND WELFARE

Pakatan Rakyat will fight for Orang Asli rights to land and welfare. Freedom will be returned to the Orang Asli communities so to enable them to shape their own lives by giving them control over their lands.

Pakatan Rakyat's promises to defend the welfare of the Orang Asli include:

**141,000**  
HECTARES

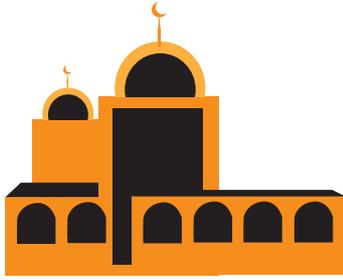
141,000 hectares of Orang Asli land will be reserved to be returned to Orang Asli.

**WATER AND  
ELECTRICITY**

Clean water supply and electricity will be supplied to all 852 Orang Asli settlements.

**5,000**  
EDUCATIONAL  
SCHOLARSHIPS

5,000 educational scholarships will be awarded annually to Orang Asli children from school to university level



## RESPECTING THE POSITION OF ISLAM AS THE OFFICIAL RELIGION, GUARANTEEING THE FREEDOM OF RELIGION

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Pakatan Rakyat respects the position of Islam as the official religion and guarantees the freedom of other religions as enshrined in the Federal Constitution.

Islam's unique position as the official religion of Malaysia fosters a spirit of mutual respect and understanding, and cultivates unity and harmony amongst Malaysians of diverse ethnic backgrounds. By promoting the appreciation of universal values which Islam and other religions embrace, we aim to produce a virtuous Malaysian society, comprising individuals who possess integrity and diligence.

## PROMOTING CULTURE AS THE FOUNDATION OF COMMUNITY LIVING

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Culture is the bond that reinforces a nation's core beliefs, establishes harmony and develops a society that believes and is confident of its identity.

Pakatan Rakyat aims to elevate cultural activities based on good universal and spiritual values by strengthening community organizations and links. More efforts will be put into uplifting knowledge, supporting the development of language skills and encouraging the growth of the various branches of the arts.

A culture that celebrates diversity and accepts differences as a source of strength will provide a strong foundation for our community life.

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**20%**  
**OIL ROYALTY**

Increasing royalty paid to oil- and gas-producing states from 5% to 20%.



# THE PEOPLE'S ECONOMY

1. 1 million job opportunities for the people
2. Equitable productivity sharing through minimum wage
3. One million school leavers trained as skilled labour
4. Education reform to drive the economy
5. Cultivating smart partnership of trade unions, employers and government
6. SMIs and innovation to drive the national economy
7. Tax adjustment to promote equity
8. Sustainable economy
9. Defending military veterans' economy and welfare
10. Making taxi entrepreneurs viable
11. R & D investments to reach 5% of GDP
12. Public transportation – the lifeline of the national economy
13. Breaking monopolies, encouraging competition

# THE PEOPLE'S ECONOMY

A sustainable economy is one that is owned and generated by the people. We need prosperous and skilled people to contribute their expertise and boost national productivity. When economic power is concentrated in the hands of the people, it is invested back into the economy.

Pakatan Rakyat believes that the country's economic potential is being hampered by the interests of the power elite and their cronies. These minority groups reap a large amount of national wealth through the awarding of concessions and monopolies, while the majority bears the burden of a looming national debt.

While wage growth remains stagnant, the cost of living and housing prices are escalating. The rich become richer, while the poor keep getting poorer. By 2020, eight million Malaysians will live in poverty in spite of supposedly healthy economic growth. If the same economic management continues, successive generations of Malaysians will be poorer than their parents' generation.

Therefore, we need to radically reform our nation's wealth management. Economic power must be returned to the people. We must focus our efforts on upgrading the economy for the majority, instead of aiding cronies and their corporations.

The "people's economy" approach taken by Pakatan Rakyat is based on one important target: after the first term of Pakatan Rakyat rule, every Malaysian family will have a monthly take-home household income of at least RM4,000.

This can be achieved with policies that focus on strengthening the foundation of the people's economy.

A minimum wage will be introduced so that no Malaysian is paid wages below what the cost of living demands. More working Malaysians will mean higher income per household.

Job opportunities will prioritise locals, to reduce dependence on foreign labour. A focus on building multiple skills for school leavers will enable them to join the job market and take home a living wage.

Educational reform needs to balance the responsibility of educating and developing knowledge with the country's economic needs.

Resources and aid must be directed to the majority - military veterans, young entrepreneurs, small and medium industries - because the economic gains generated by them will directly benefit the well-being of the majority.

Pakatan Rakyat believes that when the people are prosperous, the country will be enriched as well. Citizens with stable economic means will drive the nation's further economic growth.

The "people's economy" approach will restore economic power into the hands of the people rather than the cronies.

## ONE MILLION NEW JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE PEOPLE

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With the influx of cheap foreign labour flooding the local job market, some two million jobs are held by foreign workers.

As a result, Malaysians are no longer working in industries such as plantations, the construction sector and the service industry.

Pakatan Rakyat will introduce a comprehensive package to ensure one million new job opportunities for Malaysians in these sectors by progressive reduction of one million foreign workers within five years of Pakatan Rakyat rule.

## EQUITABLE PRODUCTIVITY SHARING THROUGH MINIMUM WAGE

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Pakatan Rakyat advocates a minimum wage on the principle that every employee is entitled to be paid a wage that is commensurate with the minimum cost of living, so that no one should live in poverty.

We also believe that productivity gains that profit employers should be fairly shared with employees.

The mechanism of minimum wage is the best way to coordinate the sharing of productivity and to ensure that each sector has a competitive edge.

The Pakatan Rakyat administration will introduce a minimum wage, where every worker will be paid at least RM1,100 per month.

## RM2 BILLION FUND TO FACILITATE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MINIMUM WAGE

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Pakatan Rakyat believes that equal sharing of productivity requires a tripartite commitment between employers, employees and the government. The initial financial burden incurred by the employer in the early stages of the minimum wage implementation shall be equally borne by the government.

The Minimum Wage Implementation Facilitation Fund worth RM2 billion aims to provide automation incentives and minimum wage implementation grants to eligible companies, to ensure that the entire job market is not jeopardised by the implementation of minimum wage.

Automation incentive and minimum wage implementation grants will prioritise Small and Medium Industries (SMI) for a specified period.

## ONE MILLION SCHOOL LEAVERS TRAINED AS SKILLED LABOUR

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Our present education and training system neglects school leavers who do not pursue higher education.

As a result, Malaysia has three million unskilled young workers who are not being utilised in the national economy.

Pakatan Rakyat will shift the focus to uplift the role of school leavers in the labour force to drive the national economy, by ensuring that:

# 1 MILLION

1 million school leavers without higher education will receive training via the "People's Pioneer Scheme" which combines employment opportunities with periodic certification of skills up to Diploma level.

# 5 TECHNICAL UNIVERSITIES

5 Technical Universities will be set up within 10 years to focus on skills and technical courses. Excellent students in the "People's Pioneer Scheme" will have the opportunity to further their studies to degree level in technical universities.

# 25 VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

25 new vocational schools will be built throughout the country and equipped with a new curriculum to match current economic requirements.

## EDUCATION REFORM TO DRIVE THE ECONOMY

The current examination-oriented education system will be revamped.

The core belief of our intended education reform is to empower each student according to their interests, strengths and individual uniqueness. Creativity, innovation, mental resilience, freedom of the mind and character strengthening will be the main goals of the curriculum.

This education system will target producing human capital that fulfills the demands of the national economy. They will be able to create, engineer and add value to spearhead the country's economic prosperity.

Pakatan Rakyat will set up a Royal Commission to study the overall improvement of the education system in line with their envisioned core education reform.

## CULTIVATING SMART PARTNERSHIP OF TRADE UNIONS, EMPLOYERS AND GOVERNMENT

The relationship between trade unions and employers is often made difficult by the government's tendency to favor the employer.

Pakatan Rakyat believes that the economic prosperity of the country is determined jointly by workers and employers.

A fair and transparent working environment for both workers and employers will improve productivity.

Pakatan Rakyat will abolish all laws and regulations which are biased and oppressive to the working class.

Pakatan Rakyat will provide funding to cultivate a smart partnership of trade unions, employers and employers, to usher in a new era in the national labour market.

## SMEs AND INNOVATION TO DRIVE THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Malaysia strives to be innovative. Innovation will uplift our economy and assist our efforts to achieve developed nation status.

Pakatan Rakyat sees innovation as an engine of growth and small and medium industries (SMIs) as a driver of the national economy. Combined, they will activate the country's economic potential.

### NATIONAL INNOVATION FUND TOTALING RM500 MILLION:

To strengthen the copyright industry and idea bank  
To promote the commercialization of ideas and inventions

### SME FINANCING AND INCENTIVES RESHUFFLE:

Our SME policy aims to coordinate and promote SME financing by financial institutions. We will reshuffle tax incentives to shift the focus of assistance from large industries to SMEs.

## TAX ADJUSTMENT TO PROMOTE EQUITY

The existing income tax rates do not reflect the actual economic position of the people. Billionaires who own millions in property are subject to the same tax rate paid by an executive working in the private sector.

### BALANCED INCOME BAND DISTRIBUTION

The income band used for personal tax purposes will be revamped to reflect the current economic status of the people.

The income band will be broadened so that the 26% tax rate will be payable for taxable income exceeding RM400,000 as compared to RM250,000 at present.

This is to make allowance for the actual living expenses incurred by the people.

## SUSTAINABLE ECONOMY

Pakatan Rakyat will halt operations of the Lynas rare earth plant in Gebeng, Pahang.

Environmental sustainability is a hallmark of Pakatan Rakyat's economic policy. Before any project is approved, the people's well-being will be emphasised.

Therefore in principle, any economic activity involving radiation which is hazardous to public health or any activity calculated to cause environmental damage will not be approved by Pakatan Rakyat state or federal governments.

Specifically, Pakatan Rakyat:

1. Will review the implementation phases of the RAPID project in Pengerang to ensure the well-being of the people and to protect the environment
2. Will reform all existing legislation related to logging, and will regulate logging activities

## DEFENDING MILITARY VETERANS' ECONOMY AND WELFARE

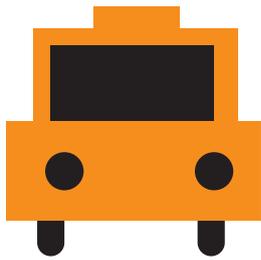
RM500 million will be allocated to the Military Veterans' Small Entrepreneur Fund to assist the participation of ex-soldiers in economic activities.

Besides capital assistance, the Military Veterans' Small Entrepreneur Fund will be responsible for training and mentoring veterans venturing into business.

Pakatan Rakyat will increase the government contribution to the Armed Forces Fund Board (AFFB) from 15% to 20% to secure soldiers' savings.

An additional contribution of 5% will be administered in a special fund and separated from the pension fund contributions, to be used to finance funds and direct assistance to pensionable and non-pensionable soldiers.

Pakatan Rakyat will introduce a Soldiers' Dividend which will remunerate non-pensionable veterans to the amount of RM2,000 per year, derived from supplementary governmental allocation and profit gains of AFFB. The estimated allocations needed to finance the Soldiers' Dividend is RM400 million per year.



## MAKING TAXI ENTREPRENEURS VIABLE

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Pakatan Rakyat will abolish the system of granting taxi permits to selected companies who profit from taxi drivers' labour.

Taxi permits will be given directly to the taxi drivers in order to produce more taxi entrepreneurs.

Government agencies will be responsible for training taxi entrepreneurs in customer service and business skills. Their language skills will also be enhanced so that they become good ambassadors for the country.

Fuel subsidies to taxi entrepreneurs will be updated to ensure fuel savings which favor both taxi entrepreneurs and passengers.

Assistance scheme for taxi entrepreneurs:

- Takaful protection scheme
- Entrepreneurship training scheme
- Encouraging the setting up of cooperatives
- New taxi financing scheme

## R&D INVESTMENTS TO REACH 5% OF GDP

Specific measures to boost investment in R&D in order to reach 5% of GDP:

1. Expanding the scope of permitted investments and grants under the existing Petroleum Fund;
2. Tax relief for goods or services derived from R&D in universities or public research centres;
3. Tax relief in the form of investment incentives and tax relief for research centres and researchers brought in; and,
4. Investment incentives for successfully commercialised Malaysian R&D products.

### PUBLIC TRANSPORT – THE LIFELINE OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Pakatan Rakyat is committed to resolve the problem of traffic congestion in the Klang Valley and other major cities within 10 years of coming to power, with the aim of reducing congestion by 50% during its first term.

Reliance on private vehicles has adverse effects on the economy. It increases subsidy expenditure, the economic burden on families, pollutes the environment and contributes to congestion.

Congestion problems have worsened due to policies which have neglected inter-city and intra-city public transportation systems. For a long time, investments in the public transport system were ignored until people had no choice but to use private vehicles.

Prudent and wise investment in public transport systems under Pakatan Rakyat will make public transportation a national economic lifeline.

## URBAN PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

- Public transportation to be made free for differently-abled people.
- Remodeling the planning of the Klang Valley public transportation system from being MRT-centric, to an integrated plan involving MRT and buses to improve the existing network and access.
- Examining each contract awarded in the MRT package in light of updated legislation, to ensure it is corruption-free and cost-effective for the people.
- Additional investment of RM2 billion in the first year to double the number of buses and bus routes in the Klang Valley

## INTER-CITY PUBLIC TRANSPORT SYSTEM

Initiating steps towards building the first inter-city high speed rail system in Southeast Asia

## BREAKING MONOPOLIES, ENCOURAGING COMPETITION

Monopolies are an encumbrance to economic growth and discourage competition. Allowing big companies to monopolise goods and services gives them the power to impose exorbitant and burdensome price increases. Monopolies impede competition and narrow the space for new businessmen and entrepreneurs to grow.

Pakatan Rakyat economic policy will focus on breaking up monopolies and encouraging competition. It will lower the price of goods from burdensome levels and build a resilient national economy that will produce many successful new entrepreneurs.

### BREAKING MONOPOLIES

- Establish an Anti-Monopoly Commission and amend existing laws relating to competition to have more power to stop unfair business practices
- Establish a Public Contracts Commission to evaluate and act as arbitrator to ensure that all agreements between the government and private sectors are not biased or unfavourable to the people
- Break up monopolies in communications, essential foods, pharmaceuticals, civil aviation and other key sectors
- Restructure unfair independent power producer (IPP) agreements to stop the enrichment of cronies via public funds

### REVITALISING COMPETITION

- Dissolve 1MDB so that Khazanah remains the only state investment body
- Disposal and handover of government holdings in government-linked companies (GLCs) which are not involved in businesses of national importance. This will be done via management buy-out (MBO), with the objective of producing more viable Bumiputera entrepreneurs
- Restructure the role of Ekuinas so that the agency assists in the takeover of GLCs by the management and qualified entrepreneurs
- Ensure overall implementation of procurement by open tender in the management of public entities



# THE PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING

1. Alleviating the burdensome cost of living by abolishing monopolies and reducing prices
2. Restructuring automotive policy to reduce the people's burden
3. Affordable and comfortable housing for all
4. Free education for all, abolishing PTPTN
5. Abolishing AES, revoke AES summonses
6. Justice for Felda settlers
7. People's safety
8. Ensuring free basic health access
9. Building a social safety network

# THE PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING

The people have been burdened with a high cost of living and stagnating wage rate. This generation is poorer than the one before and the coming generations will be even poorer.

Household expenditure on basic necessities is encumbered by a price structure that favours the cronies and big companies. The country's economy is dominated by a few monopolies owned by these cronies and large companies. They control the energy, telecommunications, transportation, water supply and primary goods sectors. As a result of a lack of competition caused by monopolies, the price of goods have been raised indiscriminately for the sake of short-term profits.

Such economic oppression shall be vehemently opposed.

Concessions that profit certain parties and burden the people shall be abolished.

The primary goods sector must be opened up to more competition in order to lower prices.

The government must be more proactive and conscientious by intervening in primary goods sectors such as housing, in order to assist the underprivileged who cannot afford to pay burgeoning house prices.

Monthly installment payments that consume a big part of wage-earners' salaries such as car loans and PTPTN must be lowered by restructuring car taxes and abolishing PTPTN.

Rural people including FELDA settlers need to be empowered by ensuring the ownership of their land and by introducing economic activities that increase their monthly income.

Security and health provision services for the people need to be stepped up. The current service providers' efficiency must be reformed in order to increase the people's confidence in the security forces.

Aligning with the aspirations of the Malaysian people, Pakatan Rakyat will uphold their welfare and carry out the following six steps immediately

## ALLEVIATING PEOPLE'S LIVING COSTS BY ABOLISHING MONOPOLIES AND LOWERING PRICES

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### LOWER OIL PRICES

#### PETROL AND DIESEL PRICES WILL BE LOWERED.

Revenue from rising crude oil prices, reaching an average of RM300 per barrel will raise the national oil revenue income.

Pakatan Rakyat believes that the windfall from oil revenue should be shared with the people to ease their burdens.

Therefore, Pakatan Rakyat will distribute gains from the extra oil revenue profit by lowering petrol and diesel prices.

### LOWER ELECTRICITY CHARGES

#### ELECTRICITY TARIFFS WILL BE REDUCED.

Each year, the country loses RM25 billion in the form of gas subsidies given to large companies that manage power production and in the form of gas subsidies to industry.

Despite receiving the gas subsidy, they sell electricity to TNB at high rates. Independent power producers' profits amount to billions of ringgit every year, while electricity tariffs continue to rise.

Pakatan Rakyat will channel this RM25 billion subsidy directly to the people by reducing their electricity tariffs.

### LOWER WATER CHARGES

Private water management concessions that have resulted in high water tariffs will be discontinued.

Pakatan Rakyat will ensure that the state governments and federal government work towards lowering water tariffs with the guarantee to the people that they need only pay the costs of reasonable management

Regulating and maintaining water tariffs at a low rate will ease the people's living costs.

## ABOLISH TOLLS

**THE PAKATAN RAKYAT GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE OVER THE HIGHWAYS IN STAGES FOR THE PURPOSE OF ABOLISHING TOLLS.**

As promised in the Orange Book (Buku Jingga), Pakatan Rakyat will take over the highways with the intention of gradually abolishing tolls.

The financing of the highway operations will be accommodated by using the RM5 billion fund that has been paid as compensation to the concessionaires.

Abolishing tolls will help to reduce the price of goods.

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## ABOLISH MONOPOLIES

**PRICES WILL BE LOWERED WHEN MONOPOLIES ARE ABOLISHED.**

Monopolies held by several cronies linked with the present ruling party have allowed them to control product prices. As a result, monopolies have become the main cause of why product prices are rising in the country.

Monopolies exist in many key sectors – from telecommunications to ASTRO, from rice prices to sugar prices.

Pakatan Rakyat will abolish these monopolies to increase competition such that lower product prices will result.

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## RESTRUCTURE THE AUTOMOTIVE POLICY TO REDUCE THE PEOPLE'S BURDEN

The ratio of car prices in Malaysia to average household income is one of the highest in the world. The lack of effective public transport facilities gives the people no choice but to buy their own cars.

As a result, car debts are the main financial burden incurred by every household. Every month a large portion of their income goes to servicing their car loan installments.

To reduce the people's burden and increase their disposable income, Pakatan Rakyat will restructure automotive policy as follows:

## ABOLISH EXCISE DUTY

Car excise tax that is currently being levied is at an excessive 70 %, resulting in high car prices.

Car excise prices will be lowered in stages with the intention of abolishing it in 5 years' time in order that car prices can be more competitive.

## PRICES AS LOW AS RM25,000

Liberalising the national automotive industry will increase its competitiveness and add value for people.

Pakatan Rakyat believes that a truly competitive automotive industry can produce cars priced as low as RM 25,000.

## AFFORDABLE AND COMFORTABLE HOUSING FOR ALL

Soaring house prices, particularly in urban areas have resulted in many people from all levels of society not being able to afford their own houses.

This is because of property market manipulation that is made easy by laws that favour developers over buyers.

Pakatan Rakyat will implement large-scale affordable and comfortable housing programmes in order to achieve the aim of "a house for every family."

## 150,000

150,000 affordable homes in the low-cost category (below RM75,000) and medium-cost category (between RM150,000 and RM250,000) will be built in the first term of the Pakatan Rakyat administration.

## PERBADANAN PERUMAHAN NEGARA

A National Housing Corporation (PPN) will be established as the primary agency to build, regulate and develop affordable housing. PPN will be responsible for building houses for the people in order to balance the private sector's exorbitant housing prices.

It will ensure the sustainability of the national housing industry by ensuring fairness to the buyers and developers, including implementing the 'build and sell' concept more extensively.

Pakatan Rakyat will invest RM 5 billion in the first year to build affordable housing, followed by RM 2 billion funding every year from the second to fifth year.

## FREE EDUCATION FOR ALL, ABOLISHING PTPTN

Education is the people's right and the government's responsibility.

Pakatan Rakyat will restore the right of free education to the people.

### FEES WILL BE BORNE

Fees for higher education in all public institutions will be borne by the government.

Fees for students in private institutions will be subsidised by the government to be on par with the public institution's rate.

### COST OF LIVING ALLOWANCE

All students in the public institutions will be provided with living cost allowance for food and lodging, books and transportation, except for those who are financially well-off.

Students in private institutions can borrow from a special fund to cover their living costs for the duration of their studies.

### ABOLISHING PTPTN

PTPTN will be abolished as it is a part of the mechanism that has caused the private sector to step in and build higher learning institutions.

PTPTN will not be needed when higher education is provided for free to the people. A specific mechanism to overcome the students' debt dependency due to PTPTN will be introduced to ensure that every student's welfare will be taken care of.

## ELIMINATING AES, REVOKING AES SUMMONSES

Pakatan Rakyat will immediately stop the concessions for and implementation of the AES system that has endangered the people's lives on the road and enriched cronies. Any summonses issued will be rescinded.

Road safety steps will emphasise safer road infrastructure, educating road users and warning measures instead of the current economically punitive approach.

## JUSTICE FOR FELDA SETTLERS

FELDA settlers' contribution to the country's well-being is immense. Palm oil revenue will be used to fund other development projects.

Therefore, FELDA settlers are entitled to receive a fair and higher proportion of revenue sharing.

### DIGNITY, PERFORMANCE & REPUTATION OF FELDA

Pakatan Rakyat will defend the dignity, performance and reputation of FELDA to ensure the economic position and land ownership of the settlers.

This includes restructuring all ownership in Felda Global Ventures (FGV) with the aim of returning operation and ownership of FELDA land to the settlers and staff.

### FAIR EXTRACTION RATES

Settlers are not paid their real income through manipulation of the Grade Extraction Rate (GER) by FELDA.

Pakatan Rakyat will review all compensation claims as a result of the GER manipulation and pay appropriate compensation to affected FELDA settlers.

## THE PEOPLE'S SAFETY

The rapid increase in crimes throughout the country, whether in urban or rural areas, with victims of young and old, illustrates the immense failure of the policing system we have today.

Pakatan Rakyat is determined to return the police personnels' focus and responsibility to protecting the people and solving crime. This will restore the position and respect of the Royal Police Force of Malaysia (PDRM) in the eyes of the people.

The following measures will be implemented to restore the dignity of police personnels and to protect the public:

- Aim to increase police personnels' remuneration by 15% in stages through manpower rationalisation and resource reallocation from non-core duties to core duties of crime solving and ensuring people's safety;
- Rationalising manpower and resource allocation will involve transferring and retraining of personnel in order to increase personnel strength of the Crime Investigation Department (CID), including reducing the size of General Task Force (PGA) and other non-core task forces;
- Additional allocation of RM 50 million a year to build police posts in places of high public concentration;
- Extra allocation of RM 200 million a year to increase PDRM's capabilities and effectiveness in forensic investigation.

## FREE BASIC HEALTH ACCESS ENSURED

Basic health access is the people's right. Every Malaysian is entitled to go to any government hospital to get prompt, competent and free healthcare.

Pakatan Rakyat's position regarding healthcare is as follows:

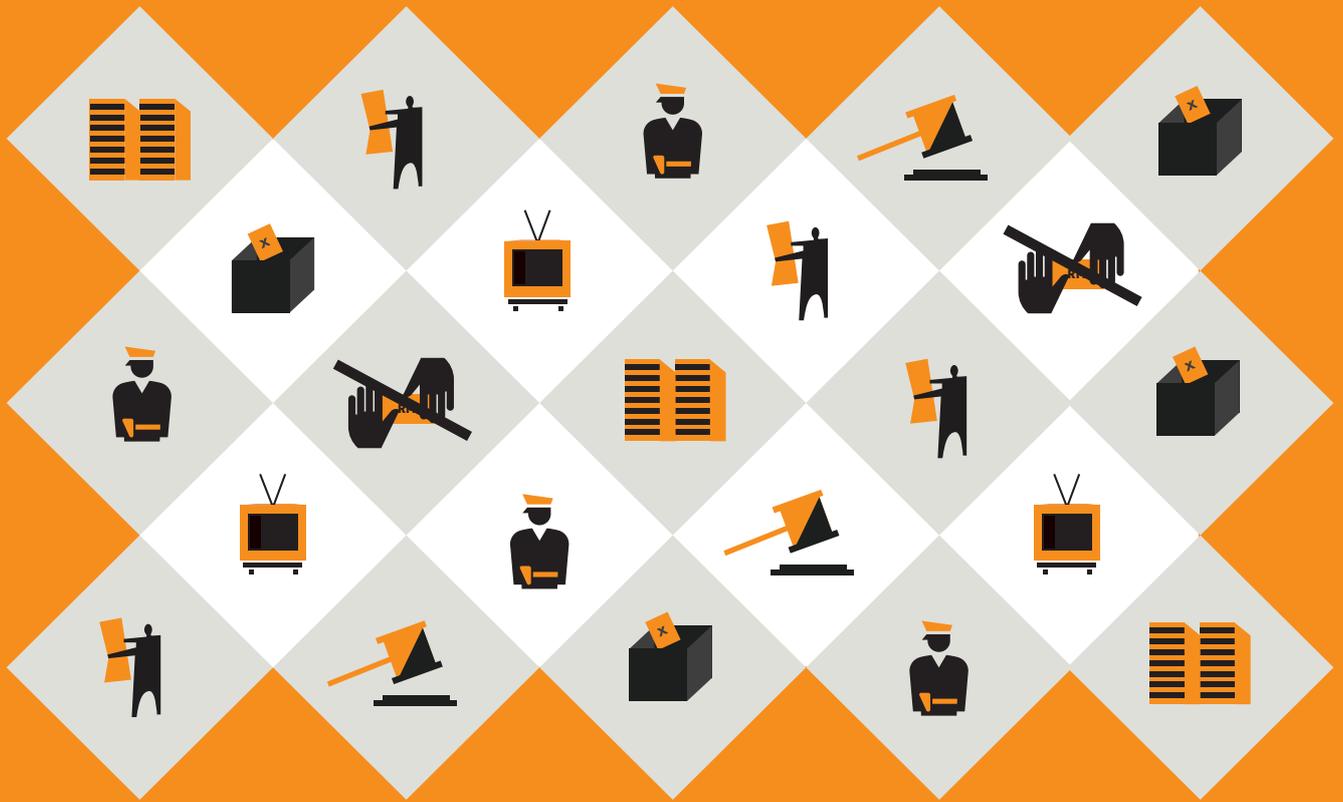
1. Reject all attempts to introduce a healthcare tax such as 1Care
2. Ensure free healthcare for all Malaysians through government hospitals while incentivizing the private sector to provide healthcare services at a reasonable rate.
3. Offer free ward service to all citizens in all government hospitals by abolishing fees for Class 2 and Class 3 wards.
4. Abolish monopolies on pharmaceutical supplies, hospital construction, and medical infrastructure which currently favour companies at the public's expense.
5. Savings from abolishing monopolies will be used to improve specialist treatments to the low-income group for complicated surgeries including heart surgery, replacement surgery and others.
6. Fulfill the target of one doctor to 550 citizens in the first term of administration, compared with the current ratio of one doctor to 800 citizens

## BUILDING A SOCIAL SAFETY NETWORK

Welfare assistance paid by the Social Welfare department will be increased from RM300 a month to RM550 a month. All families with income below RM 500 a month will be eligible to receive welfare assistant in order to eradicate hardcore poverty.

A National Commodity Fund will be established with an initial amount of RM 100 million with the intention of helping families affected by the sudden drop of commodity prices below a certain level by paying them RM 500 a month through the National Commodity Assistance.

Establish an integrated national database of the people's socio-economic information by integrating all available information that is currently located in separate agencies and bodies. This national database will be the first social safety net information system in the country.



# THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

1. Reforming Islamic and religious institutions
2. New remuneration and service packages for civil servants
3. Clean, fair and transparent elections
4. Reforming the judiciary, Attorney General's Chambers, MACC and PDRM
5. Reforming Parliament
6. Media freedom and restoring trust in media practitioners
7. Abolishing UUCA and ensuring academic freedom
8. Abolishing all anti-people laws
9. Corruption Elimination Policy (DEBARAN)

# PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

The people are the masters of the government.

The government is entrusted by the people via elected representatives.

The government's powers stem from the people's mandate which is obtained via a free, fair and transparent process.

Ensuring the well-being of the people is the responsibility of the government.

Therefore, a government that is loyal to its people and their needs will uphold the principles of fairness towards the people.

A just government will be respected, while a tyrannical government must be resisted.

Pakatan Rakyat is aware of all the structural and systemic damages that have wrecked the Malaysian system of governance.

National institutional pillars are being destroyed and the dignity of the civil service eroded by the abuses of the power elite. Dishonesty has become commonplace, while official information leaked for obscene profits. The elections are manipulated and the people's elective powers are being trampled upon.

Pakatan Rakyat's political reforms will restore a government that is ruled by the people. A government that honours the people's trust and mandate and is accountable and ensures justice for all.

## REFORMING ISLAMIC AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

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The administration of Islamic institutions will be strengthened with higher and better allocations (such as allocations for Islamic religious departments in Pakatan Rakyat states)

Add value to wakaf land that will generate economic welfare for the people

Enhance the Islamic institutions' image in the eyes of the people by freeing them from political manipulation

Target to double the current Tabung Haji fund amount within ten years of Pakatan Rakyat administration

Ensure that the right to religious freedom and religious practice for other religions will be upheld as guaranteed in the Constitution

## NEW REMUNERATION AND SERVICE PACKAGES FOR CIVIL SERVANTS

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Restore the prestige and honour of the civil service

Free civil servants from undue political interference

A new remuneration package that will factor excellent work performance, length of service and leadership qualities in order to ensure equitable and just wages while unearthing new leaderships and talents.

## CLEAN, FAIR AND TRANSPARENT ELECTIONS

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Implementing the 8 demands of BERSIH as electoral reform

Implementing automatic voter registration upon reaching eligible voting age

Clean up of electoral roll within 100 days of coming to power

## REFORMING THE JUDICIARY, ATTORNEY GENERAL'S CHAMBERS, MACC AND PDRM

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Freeing up important institutions such as the judiciary, Attorney General's chambers, Malaysian Anti Corruption Commission (MACC) and Royal Malaysian Police Force (PDRM) from political control

Restore the power to appoint leaders for these institutions to independent commissions as specified in the Constitution.

Ratify the appointment of these institutions' leaders through advisory process by the parliamentary working committees in accordance with parliamentary and democratic practices

Implementation of improvements in order to ensure the integrity and freedom of all these institutions within the first six months of Pakatan Rakyat administration, taking into account the suggestions made by special independent commissions

## REFORMING PARLIAMENT

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Restore the powers and freedom of Parliament as the voice of the people to balance Executive powers.

Introduce the parliamentary select committee system in crucial ministries such as finance, security, education, defence, PETRONAS and others in order to enhance the effectiveness of Parliament's function to check and balance executive powers

Provide the resources and relevant expertise to enable Members of Parliament to perform their duties knowledgeably, completely and effectively.

## MEDIA FREEDOM AND RESTORING TRUST IN MEDIA PRACTITIONERS

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Abolish all legislation that restricts media freedom, including the Printing Presses and Publications Act, licensing procedures and other draconian measures.

Corporatise government-owned broadcasting institutions such as RTM and ensure all media stations such as the Media Prima Group practise media freedom with integrity to further develop the broadcast industry

Respect the maturity of media practitioners in operating the media industry in a manner that is free and responsible without government interference.

## ABOLISH UUCA AND ENSURE ACADEMIC FREEDOM

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Abolish UUCA within 100 days of Pakatan Rakyat administration

Selection of vice-chancellor and rectors in public higher education institutions will be made based on ability and talent by an independent evaluating committee

Ensure academic freedom for scholars, thinkers, staff and students in all academic institutions

## ABOLISHING LEGISLATION THAT IS "ANTI-RAKYAT"

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Thorough review of all legislations that are in conflict with principles of justice for and freedom of the people

Abolish all such legislations and regulations in the first year of Pakatan Rakyat administration

Enforce a Democracy Restoration Act to further strengthen the basic rights of the people

The Federal Government to release and apologize to all ISA detainees from the past to the present

## CORRUPTION ELIMINATION POLICY (DEBARAN)

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The war on corruption is at the centre of Pakatan Rakyat's struggle.

The Pakatan Rakyat administration will introduce the Corruption Elimination Policy (DEBARAN) with an integrated approach that is incisive and specific in order to eliminate corruption.

DEBARAN is based on two major principles, namely empowering MACC fully through leadership and administrative reforms so that it will earn the respect of the people and amending current legislations to enhance its effectiveness in combating corruption.

For this purpose, through DEBARAN the Pakatan Rakyat administration will:

- Restructure MACC's power and leadership in order to rebuild its integrity in the people's eyes which may include giving MACC the power to prosecute
- Restructure the practices and processes of MACC to focus on investigation and prosecution towards big corruption cases that involve the public interest in order to dispel the perception that MACC only concentrates on small cases whilst being lenient on the big cases
- Tighten corruption-related legislation (including the Whistleblower Protection Act) to firmly implement anti-corruption laws that can tackle significant corruption cases that involve the public interest

# THE PEOPLE'S HOPE

*14 September 2023*

I am proud and grateful to be a Malaysian.

Last year, I moved into a new house in Damansara. Mother told me that once upon a time, only the very wealthy people can afford to stay in Damansara since all the houses there are super luxurious worth millions of ringgit. Praise God, after the government implemented affordable housing programmes on a large scale, young people like me are also able to buy an affordable house here.

I work in an engineering design firm in Petaling Jaya. My boss is a young guy, he used to work in the United States with several reputable firms there. We design and produce smart computer chips for the latest electronic gadgets. The designs we invent are sent to factories in China to be manufactured for the global market.

My family lives comfortably. My wife is an accountant who works for an international company. She works mostly from home. Malaysia's broadband access which is the world's best, allows many mothers like her, to work from home while spending quality time with their children.

Young families like us are thankful for the economic opportunities in the country. Our salary is more than enough to cater for our daily needs. We are able to save 30% of our salaries for long-term investments. We can afford to go on vacation every year and we have also created a trust fund for our two young children for their future.

Malaysia is respected in Southeast Asia and in the world. Kuala Lumpur is the capital of Southeast Asia and is now recognized as the fifth best global city to live in. It is the only city that maintains the cultural heritage of various ethnic groups living harmoniously in every aspect of life. The opening of the headquarters of the Islamic World Central Bank in 2019 further highlights the position of Kuala Lumpur as one of the world's top five financial centers.

I am proud of Malaysia because it is the envy of countries from the East and the West. Each of our large cities from Perlis to Johor, Kelantan to Kuala Lumpur is connected by high speed green-technology railway. Administrative activities and government departments are distributed throughout the country and the efficient public transportation network eases the lives of the people.

Malaysians are the richest people in Southeast Asia today. No family here earns a monthly income less than RM4,000. There are land owners, who were at one time called settlers, that are now agricultural and small industry millionaires who have successfully developed their land.

Other countries admire the peace we have in Malaysia despite our very diverse and different

ethnic groups. Regional peace resulting from ethnic unity is strengthened further by the professionalism and efficiency of the Malaysian Armed Forces which is recognized as the best defence force in the Southeast Asia.

Most importantly, I am proud that the Malaysian administration has proven its ability to distribute and create prosperity for everyone.

Our Heritage Fund which was set up ten years ago, has now reached RM124 billion, thanks to all the oil and gas revenues that we saved for the future. People enjoy free education up to university level and good free health facilities. Malaysia is also the only country in the region to provide a contribution scheme to wives as part of its national welfare safety net system.

When I travel to other countries on business trips, I am proud that my country is highly regarded. They admire our ability to practice democracy. Our independent judiciary sets international benchmarks. Our economic success is built around economic activities of our highly innovative, competitive and nimble small and medium industries (SMIs). It is a model of success that is emulated by other economies.

I am grateful that Malaysia is on the right track today due to the sound decision taken collectively by us, the rakyat, ten years ago in the 2013 general election. That was my first time voting. Now, as I look upon this life that we have achieved as a nation, with greater optimism for the future of Malaysia, I am proud that I was part of the generation that fought for change. I am proud to have transformed the fate of our nation that year.

*Muhammad Adlan bin Azrul*  
Damansara





